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ABSTRACT

The possible existence and stability of different national patterns of career-values in nine locations (Brazil, Mexico, England, Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Chicago, Austin, and Japan) was tested by administering an Occupational Values Inventory to 6,400 urban children in seven of the locations in 1965, and to a new sample of 3,600 in 1969. The samples were stratified by age (10 and 14), sex, and socio-economic status (upper-middle and upper-lower). A four-way ANOVA revealed distinctive national profiles which were stable across the two samples except for some changes in three countries. Each country's value profile is briefly described and possible relations to different national patterns of economic growth are discussed. (Author/MS)

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National patterns of values have long been discussed but not too much objective, systematic evidence has been available to identify and test the reality of such patterns. What different nationalities seem to value in their careers has been related, speculatively, to national differences in economic growth; but, again, with little hard data. This study undertook to find if distinctive national patterns of career values do exist, how stable they are in two population samples taken four years apart, and what the specific value pattern is in each of eight countries.

Method

An Occupational Values Inventory was developed, drawing on the work of Super (1957) and earlier research by the author and Diaz-Guerrero (1967). Fifteen kinds of occupational desiderata were put into simple sentences such as, "Work in which you can help other people" (Altruism), "Work which you are free to do in your own way" (Independence), "Work where you can get ahead" (Success), etc. Each statement was paired with every other statement to make 105 forced-choice items (plus five repeated items, as a reliability check). The abbreviated titles of the 15 values appear in Figure I. Each item could receive a score of from 0 to 14, according to the number of times it was chosen in its comparisons with the other items. This was one of 11 instruments developed for the Cross-National Study of Coping Styles and Achievement.

The inventory was given to 6,400 school children in eight cities in seven countries in 1965-66. Eight hundred were selected, from about 3,000 actually tested, in each city, to form a stratified sample evenly divided into 10 and 14 year olds, boys and girls, and upper-middle and upper-lower socioeconomic status. In 1968-69, the inventory was administered to a new sample of 400 in each of nine locations (West Germany joined the research network), stratified in the same way. (Two American locations were independently studied: the Chicago Metropolitan area and the Austin, Texas area.)

Results

A four-way ANOVA was performed (Country X Age X Sex X SES) separately for each of the 15 values. Figure I shows the rank order of national samples on each of the 15 values. The shaded area in the middle of each column shows where Tukey's test of Honestly Significant Difference distinguished two or more national samples; i.e., any samples within the shaded area were <u>not</u> significantly different in the mean scores they assigned to that value, while all unshaded samples above the shaded part had mean scores significantly different from those of all samples below the shaded middle section of the column.

Considering those value dimensions to which each national sample gave significantly above average or below average rank, each country turned out to have its own, unique profile of values. (Chicago and Austin were treated as separate samples, throughout.) What is more, the high and low points that defined this profile were highly similar in the 1965 and 1969 samples within each country, with partial exceptions in Milan, Ljubljana & Austin. The data show that there were, indeed, distinctive "national" value patterns,

different for each country, and stable across two samples taken four years apart, in all but three places. (As will be discussed later, this does not necessarily mean that such national value patterns are necessarily unchanging over longer periods of time, under changing social and economic conditions.)

In a shorthand style, each "national" value pattern can be summarized as follows. In reading these, an extremely important qualification must be kept in mind. These ranks show only how the eight or nine national samples compare with one another, not the absolute score given to a particular value. Therefore, it is important to know that in all countries above-average absolute scores were given to the values of Altruism, Independence, Intellectual Stimulation, Success and Self-Satisfaction. Similarly, children in all countries gave much less importance, among the 15 values, to Esthetics (artistic or musical careers), Managerial power and Following the Father's Occupation. So a national sample such as Brazil, that ranks lower on Altruism than other samples, nonetheless gave Altruism greater than average importance among the 15 values, internally. They just did not give it as high a score as did the children in the other countries.

Brazil

High: Esthetics, Independence, Success, Prestige (variable).

Low: Altruism, Management, Intellectual Stimulation, Security, Variety.

An ambitious, confident drive for individual success.

Mexico

High: Success, Intellectual Stimulation, Creativity, Follow Father.

Low: Esthetics, Independence, Pleasant Associates, Variety.

Success sought through intelligent originality; but loyal to family (and organization? See relatively low Independence score).

England

High: Independence, Security, Pleasant Associates, Variety.

Low: Altruism, Self-Satisfaction, Intellectual Stimulation, Creativity, Pleasant Surroundings.

An almost contradictory stress on Independence and Security, with diversions at work welcome. Intrinsic motivations for excellent performance are not given much weight.

Germany (1969, only)

High: Self-Satisfaction, Security, Economic Returns, Variety.

Low: Independence, Management, Surroundings, Follow Father.

Pragmatic materialism; money, security and knowledge of a job well done is more important than high status or personal freedom. Strong, definite rejection of family tradition as basis for career choice; apparently not due to a strong mobility drive, but to a desire to pick one's own kind of work.

Italy

High: Management, Prestige.

Low: Esthetics, Associates, Variety.

What remains stable from 1965 to 1969 (and it is less than elsewhere) is an almost single-minded ambition for power and prestige, with very little interest in such "impracticalities" as artistic or musical careers, mere diverting variety at work or companionship with co-workers. Personal advancement is clearly the goal. The 1969 sample was less altruistic, more intellectually bent, less security-minded, and more interested in making money.

Yugoslavia

High: Altruism, Success, Creativity, Prestige, Surroundings.

Low: Management, Security, Economic Returns.

An eagerness to earn personal recognition, through individual originality, blended with a strong concern for other people. A definite downgrading of power, security or money as ends in themselves.

Chicago

High: Altruism, Management, Self-Satisfaction, Security.

Low: Independence, Success, Creativity, Prestige, Surroundings.

People-oriented, working for the pleasure of feeling competent. "Turned off" by ideas of ambition for "success" or prestige. Willing to give up independence of action for security and not much concerned with creative self-expression, personal originality. Settling for the status quo, it appears.

Austin

High: Esthetics, Security, Economic Returns, Associates.

Low: Independence, Success, Creativity.

Primarily looking for safe, well-paid jobs, with friendly co-workers. Decidedly not dedicated to the "success" culture. Not much drive for individuality of any kind. Along with Chicagoans, they seem strongly inclined to settle for the status quo. By 1969, the new sample was less altruistic, less concerned with satisfying themselves through doing work well, less interested in intellectual stimulation, more concerned with having pleasant working conditions, and a little more interested in winning prestige.

Japan

High: Independence, Intellectual Stimulation, Creativity, Pleasant Surroundings.

Low: Success, Security, Prestige, Economic Returns.

Intense emphasis on mind-challenging, self-realizing activities. Their traditional regard for beauty comes out, too. A strong rejection of the "success" ethic and materialistic ends, whether in terms of money or security. This pattern almost seems to foreshadow a systematic (if not overtly evident) revolt against the intensive concentration on economic advance that has characterized Japanese society in recent generations.

Discussion

Distinctive, relatively stable national patterns of career values have been identified. Their existence appears to confirm the assumption that each culture tends to create and to perpetuate its own, partially unique emphases on what is important in life and what is most worth working for.

At the same time, there is nothing inherently unchangeable or mysteriously self-renewing about these patterns, in a way divorced from current history. The value profiles of the present-day children in Sao Paulo and Mexico City, for example, depart greatly from the known values of earlier generations and the rural folk cultures of their societies (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Rosen, 1964). This should scarcely be surprising, however. The economic growth of these two metropoli has been explosive for decades. The parents of most of these children are precisely those people who chose to migrate to these rapidly developing centers. In Mexico this was a

selective migration from areas of lower population density -- from folk-cultures, in many cases. In Sao Paulo, at least half of today's population are first or second generation immigrants from northern Italy and other parts of Western Europe. Such people are most likely to be ambitious and psychologically active, self-selected out of an older, more static cultural tradition.

The changes in the values of the Austin children and the somewhat fewer changes observed in Milan demonstrate that some kinds of changes in the social or economic climate of the community are capable of modifying children's hopes and goals substantially, over just a few years. The fact that few notable changes occurred in the other places studied may only reflect the fact that the social and economic atmosphere remained relatively constant from 1965 to 1969.

It is irresistibly tempting to speculate about possible causal relations between the children's career values and the recent economic growth histories of their societies. Certainly, the vigorously entrepreneurial values displayed by the youth of Sao Paulo and Mexico City could easily be seen as a natural consequence of their parents' probable (inferred!) values and of the high rate of economic growth which is actually occurring in their communities. At the other end of the scale in relative rate of recent economic growth lie England and the U. S. It seems more than an accidental coincidence that the youth of these countries show the lowest levels of intrinsic personal motivation to achieve, and low levels of concern for independent, individual advancement. Their willingness to settle for the status quo may well reflect economic realities of lesser opportunity.

On the other hand, if the youth of these different nations maintain their present values, the economic growth they personally accomplish in their societies in the next 30 to 40 years may forecast sustained or even

heightened differences in the rate of economic advance of these countries. If so, Brazil and Mexico would be likely to keep up their fast rates of growth. England and the U. S., on the other hand, would have little ground for optimism. Their competitive standing in the economic world could progressively decline if the values their present young people show were to determine the degree of achievement drive displayed by the next generation of adults in these societies.

The possible, past-into-future trends in Japan, Germany and the other countries present some fascinating complexities. Other data from the Cross-National Study supplement the data reported here, to indicate some possible trends; but new research is very much needed on issues the present study has helped to identify and start to measure.

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Footnotes

[1]Arrigo L. Angelini, Brazil; Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero, Mexico; Kenneth M. Miller, England; Walther Jaide, Franz Weinert, Rolf Piquardt, West Germany; Leon Zorman, Ivan Tolicic, Yugoslavia; Marcello Cesa-Bianchi, Italy; Shunichi Kubo, Eiichi Kajita, Japan; and Robert J. Havighurst, U.S.A. were cooperating principal investigators in this research.

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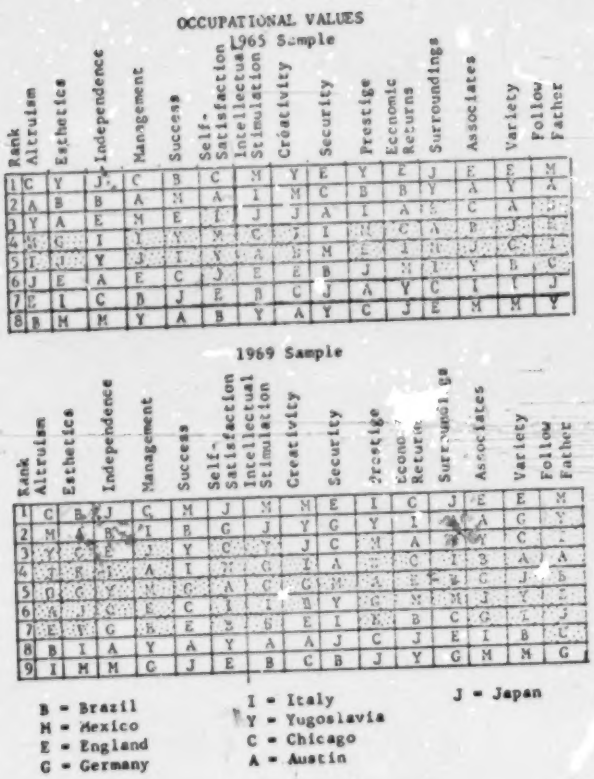
OCCUPATIONAL VALUES
1965 Sample
Rank
Altruism
Esthetics
Independence
Management
Success
Self-Satisfaction
Intellectual Stimulation
Creativity
Security
Prestige
Economic Returns
Surroundings
Associates
Variety
Follow Father
1969 Sample
B = Brazil
M = Mexico
E = England
G = Germany
I = Italy
Y = Yugoslavia
C = Chicago
A = Austin
J = Japan

Figure I